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a small minority of Britishers. There is absolutely no agitation in England for repeal of the British Health Service Act. Doctors and patients alike are quite content with it, although it is true that some doctors do not make as much money as they used to and have tended to immigrate. However, many Harley Street specialists are still making large incomes from private patients, and the great bulk of the British medical profession is quite content as, indeed, are the British people.

Since my replies to the nine questions cover most of the arguments in the folder "It's Your Decision," I will not repeat what I have already said.

Sincerely,

JOSEPH S. CLARK,
U.S. Senator.

PERSECUTION OF JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, we have seen within the last few days another rash of reports with respect to persecutions of an anti-Jewish character in the Soviet Union. I refer particularly to the front page news report with a United Nations dateline from the New York Herald Tribune of Friday, June 22, followed by a New York Times report from Moscow, under a Moscow dateline dated Tuesday, June 26.

These reports indicate two lines of action which are taking place in the Soviet Union—one a condemnation on a rather wholesale scale in connection with alleged currency and similar speculations, allegedly contrary to Soviet law, which has resulted in a considerable number of executions. We know of at least 19 Jews within the very recent months who have been either executed or imprisoned for alleged economic offenses. In the New York Times a total of 7 of the 18 who were convicted at a series of trials in Minsk are very clearly identified as Jews, with the usual report which now we have learned to expect from the Soviet, without mentioning their religious faith, but linking them very clearly to the Jewish faith and the synagogue as covers for their activities, et cetera.

The New York Herald Tribune page tells of violence, the fear haunting the Jewish people of the Soviet Union, and gives specific examples of terroristic activities, including bomb explosions and burning of synagogues in Georgian towns in the Soviet Union.

Mr. President, I do not believe that all these matters will be better handled if they are handled mutely, and I have urged that public protests be made by leading citizens of both secular and religious organizations, and I continue to urge that as an effort to halt the inhuman course of action in the Soviet Union. As we are aware, the Soviet Union is very sensitive to charges of anti-Judaism or anti-Semitism. That is evidenced in the most obvious way by the publicity in the Soviet Union. The Soviet press agency Novosti released a letter on May 11, 1962, from five Soviet Jews, endeavoring to answer the charges which have been made, naming me by name. The State Department's reply indicated the following:

First, there is clear evidence of the report by the Soviet regime to discriminatory measures against Jews in their access to higher education.

Second, desecration of cemeteries, closing of synagogues, dispersing of prayer meetings, arrest of lay leaders, prohibition of certain Jewish religious practices, and so forth, have been well established.

Finally, there is a sign of increased sensitivity to charges of anti-Semitism, all calculated to counter recent foreign publicity of deliberate anti-Semitic actions by the Soviet regime, the State Department says in referring to the letter of the five Jewish citizens released on May 11, 1962.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have 1 more minute.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. It seems to me it is very clear that where there are protests, they do have the effect I have stated; that, indeed, it is the only thing likely to have any effect upon the Soviet Union in respect to these persecutions; and that the bitter experience of mankind in keeping quiet about these matters, which we saw as a prelude to the Hitler era, should not be engaged in again, but, on the contrary, worldwide protests will bring about a correction.

These are very serious matters, very serious clouds on the horizon, for the almost 3 million Jews in the Soviet Union.

I for one will not let up until we see real signs of progress in the Soviet Union in the matter of humanity and civilization toward its Jewish citizens.

I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD with my remarks the reports in the New York Herald Tribune of June 22 and the New York Times of June 26.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Herald, June 22, 1962]
NEW, VIOLENT SOVIET ANTI-SEMITISM: TORCH
TO SYNAGOGUE, BOMB, DEATH

(By Martin G. Berck)

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.—A new pall of terror hangs over Russia's Jewish community of 3 million.

From large metropolitan centers to remote villages in the Caucasus and central Asia, there is a grave, fresh element of concern for Soviet Jewry. It is fear of vandalism, violence, and pogroms.

The wave of fear is reinforced by a series of incidents, the details of which have not previously come out through the Iron Curtain. While not necessarily prescribed or encouraged by Soviet authorities, violence is seen as the consequence of the prominent role assigned to Jews in a far-reaching Kremlin campaign against so-called economic crimes.

In its impact on the Soviet masses—pressed by new belt-tightening measures—this campaign transcends by far Russia's unremitting attack on Jewish religious and cultural institutions. It even outweighs a recent allegation in the Soviet press that synagogues are centers of espionage and subversion.

It is in this context that authoritative sources disclosed to the New York Herald Tribune that:

Between 10 days and 2 weeks ago, a bomb exploded in front of the synagogue in Kutaisi, a town in the Soviet Republic of Georgia. The front of the building was damaged. Local authorities removed two other bombs planted in the synagogue.

Earlier last month, in another Georgian town, Tskhakaya, a synagogue was heavily damaged by fire, believed the result of arson. Traces of gasoline were found. The roof was totally destroyed. Religious objects—including 13 parchment Torahs (scrolls of the Mosaic law), prayer shawls and prayer books—were burned. A tourist who happened to be on the scene photographed these and smuggled the pictures out of the country.

The Torah scrolls are revered so much by Jews that when they in time wear out and can no longer be used for prayer and study, they are not destroyed. Instead, the scrolls of the law are buried in a cemetery.

In Moscow, an elderly Jewish couple was slain in an ax murder by a street assailant. They were identified as F. M. Tunis and his wife, N. A. Tunis. An item to this effect was printed in the May 11 edition of Izvestia, the official Government organ. Subsequently the newspaper reported that the assailant was arrested, tried and sentenced to death. No hint was given of any anti-Semitic aspects of the case. But stories of several similar attacks have gained currency among Moscow's Jewish community.

Specialists on Soviet anti-Semitism see a direct connection between the synagogue desecration in Georgia and the economic crackdown spotlighting Jews as alleged black marketers, speculators, currency manipulators and pilferers.

EXECUTED FOR EMBEZZLING

In Kutaisi, a Jewish defendant, A. F. Kleimanov, was arrested on charges of embezzling state property. After a show trial attended by workers and students brought by the truckload, he was sentenced to death by the Supreme Court of the Georgian S.S.R. The provincial newspaper, Zaria Vestoka, carried notice of his execution on March 17.

In Tiflis, capital of Georgia, an even bigger show trial was accorded another Jew, Mordekh Abramovich Kaklashvili, on charges of currency speculation. Notice of his execution was carried in the paper the same day.

This, in part, is how Zaria Vestoka under a heading, "The End of the Pack of Wolves," described the Kaklashvili case during his trial last winter:

"And thus, an end has been brought to them. Relegated to the past are the voyages throughout the country's towns, the meetings in private flats. The tinkle of gold and the rustle of banknotes have died down, the luster of diamonds grown dim. Their way has been logically ended, bringing them to the harsh bench in the courtroom. But they had known other days.

"From Moscow, Leningrad, Riga and Erevan, gold coins of czarist coinages, dollars, pounds sterling and Turkish liras followed to Mordekh Kaklashvili. And from his tenacious hands, Kaklashvili released them only with substantial profit, robbing his partners and accomplices. Even the religious books of the Torah have been used by several of them as depositories of foreign paper money."

In the pattern of such articles, no specific reference is made of the Jewish identity of the defendant. But the point is established by indirection and the idea of a Jewish conspiracy with international connections is suggested.

Kleimanov and Kaklashvili are among at least five Jews who have been executed on economic charges. At least 22 Jews are

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known among 40 Soviet citizens who have received death sentences. Prison terms have been given to between 100 and 150 Soviet nationals, of whom a majority are known to be Jews.

SPECIAL TREATMENT

It is inconceivable to Soviet specialists here that Jews, who constitute slightly more than 1 percent of Russia's population, could cast such a large shadow on Soviet economic life unless the regime decided to single them out for special treatment.

There is no doubt that such a decision was made, and in the view of experts, it serves these purposes:

Popular disgruntlement with new guns-instead-of-butter austerity measures can be blunted if the Jews can be blamed for siphoning off Soviet resources. This recalls the political use of pogroms during czarist days.

Heightened distrust by Gentiles and fear among Jews serves to further an earlier Soviet objective: Two destroy Jewish communal links in hopes of atomizing the Jewish community, politically suspect because of its tie with the West and with Israel.

[From the New York Times, June 26, 1962]
SOVIETS SENTENCES 5 TO DEATH FOR SPECULATION—13 ARE IMPRISONED IN CASE INVOLVING DEALS IN GOLD AND FOREIGN CURRENCY
(By Theodore Shabad)

Moscow, June 25.—Five men have been sentenced to death and 13 have been given prison terms in Minsk on charges of speculation in foreign currency and gold.

The results of the latest of a series of publicized trials for economic crimes were made public in Saturday's edition of the Byelorussian newspaper Sovetskaya Byelorossiya, received here today.

The announcement of the sentencing of the ring which has been given the name "Bursak and company" for its accused leader, Mikhail Bursak, coincided with the publication in the Western press of an appeal to the Soviet Union to abandon the death penalty for economic crimes.

The appeal, signed by 223 prominent Americans, including Norman Thomas, the Socialist leader, was handed a week ago to Anatoly F. Dobrynin, the Soviet Ambassador in Washington, for transmittal to Moscow.

Foreign observers doubted that the appeal would deter the Soviet Government from its drive to root out what is considered one of the most serious offenses in the Soviet society. It is felt that the Communist system would break down if private enrichment at the expense of the state continues unchecked.

Jews have been traditionally associated with commerce in Russia and a large percentage of the persons tried on charges of profiteering and speculation have been Jews. At least 7 of the 18 in the Minsk case have Jewish names.

The Bursak ring was said to have done business worth "millions of rubles" and to have had "several poods of gold" in its possession at the time of the arrests. A pood is 36 pounds.

The network extended to more than a dozen Soviet cities, including Riga, Kaunas, Vilna, Kishinev, Lvov, Leningrad, and Kiev, according to the trial account.

Bursak was identified as a four-time offender, having served a 3-year sentence in the 1930's for black market activity in shoes, another jail term for speculation during World War II, and 8 years in the fifties for grand larceny. His occupation was given as "private businessman."

The others sentenced to death were Khaim Khilger, a 40-year-old engineer; Meyr Vilensky, a 30-year-old shoemaker; Ivan Melnichuk, 54, who worked as a fireman in a boiler-house, and Nikolai Kurchakov, a cashier.

The prison sentences were from 5 to 15 years for the 13 others, whose ages ranged from 25 to 65.

U.S. TRADE POLICY AFTER THE TRADE BILL

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, Mr. Carl J. Gilbert, who is chairman of the Committee for a National Trade Policy, on June 21 made a speech before the American Marketing Association, entitled "U.S. Trade Policy After the Trade Bill."

It should be encouraging to all of us that the chairman of the Committee for a National Trade Policy is looking beyond the passage of the President's trade bill toward its effective administration and the integration of trade policy with other national programs.

Mr. Gilbert's speech contains a number of interesting suggestions which ought to receive the careful attention of all who are interested in trade.

Mr. Gilbert points out that "the job that must be done to make a true trade expansion policy work will be far from done when this trade bill is passed."

I ask unanimous consent that this very provocative speech be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. TRADE POLICY AFTER THE TRADE BILL
(By Carl J. Gilbert)

As many of you know, there is an inscription on the National Archives Building in Washington that reads: "What is past is prologue." You also might have heard the story about the taxi driver who explained that inscription to his passenger by saying: "It means that you ain't seen nothin' yet." I feel somewhat the same way in coming before this conference today to discuss U.S. trade policy, and particularly U.S. trade policy in a trading world radically changed and changing under the influence of the European Common Market.

I am meeting with you today primarily in my capacity as chairman of the Committee for a National Trade Policy. Our committee is working vigorously and unstintingly for the enactment of the Trade Expansion Act which the House Ways and Means Committee recently reported out. I shall leave to other speakers at this conference the discussion of the new trade bill. I want to talk about U.S. trade policy after the bill becomes law.

You might ask whether this is counting one's chickens before they are hatched. I don't think so. The logic of national necessity is so impressive and compelling on this trade issue that it is realistic to assume that the new bill or something substantially like it will be the law of the land before the 87th Congress adjourns. More than that, however, now is the time to chart the course which should be followed in shaping the policies and administrative plans that go to make up our country's foreign economic policy in the fullest sense of the term. In fact, to set our sights properly and chart such a course now may well contribute significantly to the enactment of the trade bill itself, for it would help to show how the bill fits into the grand design of our total trade policy.

Let us never forget that our trade policy is not just tariff policy, or even import policy in a more general sense. It is much more. It must be a policy aimed at the expansion of our economic relations with the

rest of the free world. Trade expansion policy thus involves much more than passing the Trade Expansion Act of 1962. It embraces all economic activities which contribute to the growth of our own economy and to our ability to help develop a healthy, expanding international trade and payments from which we have so much to gain. It calls for vigorous export promotion abroad and just as vigorous economic adjustment at home. It demands energetic innovation through investment in both research to develop products and up-to-date machinery to make them. It demands Government policies that facilitate these essential efforts.

I want to focus my attention today on trade policy administration and on the direction we must resolutely move both in Government policy, and in the private economy, if our trade policy is to have the success it must have.

Policies don't implement themselves. They depend for their success on the efforts of competent people dedicated to excellence in the execution of their assignments and convinced of the importance of success in this vital area of national policy. Further, we must be sure that those who have basic control over this policy—namely, the Congress—are adequately organized to maintain continuing and effective surveillance over the success of the program.

When I speak about adequate implementation of our trade policy, I refer not just to the people who work at this in Government, but also to executives in the business world, in labor, and in local communities, each of whom have a vital role to play in assuring the success of this program.

In using the negotiating authority provided for in the new trade act, it is imperative that the President place this instrument in the hands of a delegation to the trade conferences made up of the most able and dedicated persons our country can produce.

The Chief Negotiator, whom the new bill requires the President to appoint, must be a man who not only commands the respect and the confidence of the President and the Congress, but also the respect and the confidence of the American business community and labor movement. There are few men in public or private life who could amply qualify. He must be a man whose very name says forcefully to the people of the United States and to other governments that the powers delegated to the President under this legislation will, in their administration, be used with the greatest possible effectiveness. This will be no political plum, because besides calling for courage, hard work and formidable skill, it will demand a professional background of impressive scope and depth. The great care which the President must exercise in choosing Ambassadors to our diplomatic posts abroad must pale beside the criteria to be set in the choice of this new recruit to the ranks of Ambassadors Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary. The most dramatic way to say to foreign governments that we mean business in the adoption of this policy of trade expansion is for the President to appoint to this post a man who already commands the respect of those governments for his skill as a negotiator and in his proven capacity to advance the interests of the United States. Nor are we without the availability of such men when we remember the impressive reputation enjoyed at home and abroad by men like David Bruce, Lucius Clay, and Robert Murphy.

Excellence in leadership must be complemented by excellence all down the line. To match the dedication, amounting almost to religious fervor, and the advanced skills of the staff members of the European Economic Community whom I have seen in recent months will demand the most meticulous care on our part in choosing our negotiators and those who back them up.